

Message Text

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ACTION CU-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SSO-00 INR-10 INRE-00 CIAE-00

NSAE-00 PA-04 PRS-01 SY-04 SS-20 NSC-07 NSCE-00 L-03

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O 171218Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1478

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1559

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SCUL, PFOR, HU

SUMU: IREX REACTION TO HUNGARIAN VISIT OF PROF.
ISTVAN DEAK

USIA FOR IEE/J. W. SHIRLEY.

1. IREX EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ALLEN KASSOF TELEPHONED PAO DACHI JUNE 16 FROM NEW YORK TO ADVISE THAT HE HAD RECEIVED CALL FROM PROF. ISTVAN DEAK IN ZURICH PREVIOUS DAY CLAIMING THAT DURING DEAK'S VISIT TO HUNGARY JUNE 7-15 LATTER HAD BEEN UNDER CONSTANT HARASSMENT BY SECURITY SERVICES CULMINATING IN ALLEGED THREATS AT AIRPORT THAT DEAK WOULD QUOTE MISS HIS PLANE UNQUOTE FOLLOWING WHICH HE WAS STRIPPED AND SUBMITTED TO A BODY SEARCH. FOLLOWING SEARCH DEAK DEPARTED ON FLIGHT

WHICH HAD BEEN SCHEDULED.

2. HIGHLY AGITATED, KASSOF TOLD DACHI HE HAD CONVOKED A MEETING OF THE IREX BOARD FOR LATER IN THE WEEK. HE PREDICTED THE BOARD WOULD UNQUESTIONABLY BE FURIOUS OVER THE QUOTE FLAGRANT ABUSE OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED
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ABOUT DEAK'S RETURN TO HUNGARY UNQUOTE AND THAT UNLESS

DEPT COULD PROVIDE EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY, AND THAT IS WHY HE WAS GIVING US ADVANCE WARNING, THERE WOULD BE QUOTE NO STOPPING THE BOARD THIS TIME, THERE WOULD SOON NOT BE A SINGLE HUNGARIAN SCHOLAR IN U.S., AND THIS TIME THERE WILL BE NO STOPPING PRESS UNQUOTE.

3. PLACING DACHI UNDER CONSIDERABLE DISADVANTAGE OVER OPEN TELEPHONE, KASSOF WANTED TO KNOW WHAT EMBASSY POSITION WAS ON THIS MATTER. DACHI ATTEMPTED TO INDICATE THAT KASSOF DID NOT HAVE ALL THE FACTS AND SHOULD GUARD AGAINST REACTING BEFORE A MORE BALANCED ACCOUNTING OF EVENTS RECEIVED.

4. FYI DACHI HAD BEEN IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH DEAK BY TELEPHONE DURING HIS BUDAPEST STAY AND MET WITH HIM PERSONALLY THREE TIMES, ON JUNE 10, 11 AND 13, FOR A TOTAL OF OVER FIVE HOURS. THE RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF THOSE CONTACTS PRESAGING EVENTS OF JUNE 15 AND 16 WERE REPORTED IN A MUDD TO ANDREWS LETTER WITH COPY TO USIA/SHIRLEY DATED JUNE 13 AND DESPATCHED SAME DAY.

5. IN LIGHT OF URGENCY OF SITUATION AND UNCERTAINTY OF EXPECTED ARRIVAL DATE OF LETTER, PERTINENT POINTS REPEATED HERE:

(A) ALTHOUGH DEAK IS UNDER SURVEILLANCE IT HAS BEEN DISCREET AND NO HARASSMENT HAS OR IS LIKELY TO OCCUR;

(B) SURVEILLANCE NOT SURPRISING SINCE IT WAS MOI WHICH EXPELLED DEAK LAST FALL AND THEN WENT THROUGH UNUSUAL EXPERIENCE OF BEING OVERRULED AND HAVING TO GRANT VISA FOR SAKE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS;

(C) DEAK, SEVERELY SHAKEN BY SURVEILLANCE, VOWING NEVER TO RETURN;

(D) DACHI TRIED TO REASSURE HIM (EMBASSY PERSONNEL EXPERIENCE SAME SURVEILLANCE DAILY), ADVISED HIM TO AVOID GETTING INVOLVED IN ACADEMIC OR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES
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UNRELATED TO OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR HIS VISIT;

(E) DEAK, AT INSISTENCE ITS DIRECTORS, VISITED HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE WHERE HE WAS GREETED WITH GREAT CORDIALITY. HE WAS ALSO INVITED TO DINNER AT HOME OF PROF. GYORGY RANKI, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE, AND THE MAN WHITH WHOM HE WAS ASSOCIATED IN HIS RESEARCH. RANKI INSISTED ON INVITATION EVEN AFTER BEING TOLD THAT

DEAK UNDER SURVEILLANCE. DEAK ALSO HAD LUNCH WITH
PROF. SIMAI OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS ANFJ
DINNER AT HONF OF PROF.HANAK OF HISTORICAL INSTITUTE H;

(F) WE FIND IT INTERESTING THAT HUNGARIAN INTELLECTUALS
INSISTED ON MAKING OPEN DEMONSTRATION OF DEAK RETURN TO HUNGARY
BY PUBLICLY ASSOCIATING WITH HIM, A DEVELOPMENT UNDERLINING
OUR EARLIER UNDERSTANDING THAT INFLUENTIAL ACADEMICIANS
PLAYED ONE OF IMPORTANT ROLES IN REVERSION OF DEAK EXPULSION
ORDER AND NOW WANT TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR EFFECTIVENESS TO
THEIR COLLEAGUES.

6. LETTER CONTINUES:

QUOTE. TO DACHI THE MOST SURPRISING ASPECT ABOUT HIS
CONTACTS WITH DEAK WAS THE FACT THAT LATTER SEEMED GENUINELY
PUZZLED AS TO WHY HE SHOULD BE UNDER SURVEILLANCE, WAS
BOTHERED BY "DISCOURTESY" IMPLIED THEREIN, COULD NOT
UNDERSTAND HOW ANYONE COULD SUSPECT HIM OF ANYTHING, AND
WAS REALLY HURT IN A PERSONAL WAY THAT HE WAS NOT WELCOMED
BACK WITH OPEN ARMS. FROM SOMEONE WITH AN EAST EUROPEAN
BACKGROUND, AND A PROFESSOR OF EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES,
SUCH NAIVETE IS QUITE STARTLING.

IN ANY CASE, DEAK'S STATE OF FEAR AND APPREHENSION
WILL LIKELY (HOPEFULLY) KEEP HIM FROM GETTING INVOLVED
IN ANY INDISCRETIONS WHICH COULD MAKE THIS COMPROMISE
SOLUTION FALL APART AND THUS PUT US BACK TO THE STATE
OF CRISIS IN CULTURAL EXCHANGES IN WHICH WE FOUND OURSELVES
LAST WINTER.

WE, OF COURSE, AT THIS STAGE OF THE GAME DO NOT KNOW
WHAT DEAK IS LIKELY TO DO UPON HIS RETURN TO U.S. BUT
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BASED ON HIS PRESENT STATE OF MIND WE WOULD HAZARD GUESS
THAT HIS REACTION AGAINST GOH IS LIKELY TO BE QUITE BITTER.
GIVEN HIS CONNECTIONS IN ACADEMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL CIRCLES
HE IS QUITE CAPABLE OF AGAIN DOING OUR EXCHANGES A GREAT
DEAL OF HARM, AND ALL BECAUSE OF HIS NAIVETE AND PERSONAL
AFFRONT OVER A CUSTOM THAT ONE WOULD THINK ANYONE IN HIS
POSITION AND WITH HIS EXPERIENCE IN EE WOULD TAKE FOR
GRANTED. (HE SEEMS TO HAVE NO IDEA OF WHAT EMBASSY, DEPT
AND OTHERS DID HERE SEVERAL MONTHS AGO TO SAVE THE VERY
PROGRAMS HE PROFESSES TO WANT TO SEE PERPETUATED.) IN
ANY CASE, WE WANTED TO LET YOU KNOW OF OUR ASSESSMENT OF
HIS VISIT HERE UP TO NOW IN EVENT HE TURNS TO RECRIMINATION
UPON HIS RETURN. DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO ADVISE IREX
OF DEAK'S ATTITUDE AND STATE OF MIND IS, OF COURSE, UP
TO YOU. END QUOTE.

7. COMMENT: WHILE BODY SEARCH OF DEAK ON DEPARTURE COULD BE CONSIDERED HARASSMENT BY SOME, SUCH SEARCHES ARE NOT AT ALL UNCOMMON THESE DAYS AT AIRPORTS THROUGHOUT WORLD. WHILE MOTIVES OR JUSTIFICATION FOR SUCH SEARCHES MAY DIFFER WIDELY, SUCH AN EVENT IS SUFFICIENTLY COMMON PART OF AIRPORT SECURITY PRACTICES THAT IT DOES NOT GIVE A CONSUL GROUNDS FOR PROTEST, PARTICULARLY WHEN INDIVIDUAL IS TRAVELING ON ORDINARY PASSPORT WITH A TOURIST VISA, IS NOT ON OFFICIAL BUSINESS NOR ENGAGED IN ANY COMMERCIAL, ACADEMIC OR OTHER EXCHANGE ACTIVITY. OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE IS FACT THAT DEAK WAS NOT DETAINED AND DEPARTED ON HIS FLIGHT AS SCHEDULED.

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ACTION CU-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SSO-00 INR-10 INRE-00 CIAE-00

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O 171218Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1479

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1559

8. DEAK CONSIDERED SURVEILLANCE A FORM OF SEVERE HARASSMENT AND A PERSONAL AFFRONT. HE WAS INDEED FOLLOWED BUT DISCREETLY AND THERE WAS NO HARASSMENT OR INTERFERENCE WITH HIS VISIT TO INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH, WITH HIS TWO SEPARATE VISITS TO HOMES OF PROFESSORS RANKI AND HANAK FOR DINNER, WITH HIS LUNCH AT A HOTEL WITH PROF. MICHAEL SIMAI, OR WITH ANY OF HIS MOVEMENTS THROUGH BUDAPEST DURING THE WEEK.

9. IN HIS CALL TO KASSOF, DEAK ALSO ALLEGEDLY SAID THAT LATTER HAD CONTACTED BY TELEPHONE AN OFFICIAL AT THE

INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL RELATIONS WHO ADVISED HIM THAT KKI DID NOT WISH TO CONSIDER ANY FURTHER CONTACTS WITH DEAK'S INSTITUTE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. DEAK ALSO MENTIONED THIS POINT TO DACHI. WHEN LATTER ASKED MORE DETAILS, IT TURNED OUT DEAK TALKED TO AN OFFICIAL NOT AT ALL ASSOCIATED WITH NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, WHO BY CHANCE TOOK CALL IN ABSENCE OF DIVISION CHIEF ENDRE POLGAR, OUT OF TOWN ON VACATION, AND GYORGY PETER WHO IS IN U.S. OFFICIAL, IT LATER BECAME EVIDENT, MADE EXPECTED NON-COMMITTAL STATEMENT OF SOMEONE TOTALLY OUT OF LINE OF AUTHORITY.

10. NO AMOUNT OF EXPLANATION OF THIS POINT BY DACHI HAD ANY EFFECT WHATEVER ON DEAK WHO EVIDENTLY PERSISTED
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IN GIVING KASSOF A DISTORED VERSION OF CONVERSATION. BOTH DEAK AND KASSOF SEEM TO HAVE LONG FORGOTTEN THAT PRESENT VISA WAS RESULT OF COMPROMISE WORKED OUT AFTER LONG AND PAINFUL NEGOTIATIONS, AND WAS GIVEN ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS WITH EXPECTATION THAT DEAK WOULD VISIT HIS FATHER AND NOT THAT HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO SPEND A LARGE PORTION OF HIS TIME ON IREX BUSINESS. DEAK ALSO WAS TOTALLY IMPERVIOUS TO ALL OTHER ARGUMENTS OR REASSURANCES DACHI TRIED TO GIVE IN TRYING TO ASSUAGE THE EXAGGERATED AND ALMOST IRRATIONAL FEARS OF DEAK REGARDING THE SURVEILLANCE UNDER WHICH HE WAS KEPT. DEAK REFERRED REPEATEDLY TO HIS IMAGINED IMPENDING ARREST AND ALL SORTS OF OTHER PREDICTIONS OF DOOM INCLUDING WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO HIM AT THE AIRPORT. IN LIGHT OF HIS REACTION TO EVENTS DURING THE WEEK, IT IS POSSIBLE TO SURMISE THAT HIS REPORT TO KASSOF ABOUT INCIDENT AT AIRPORT MAY ALSO BE EXAGGERATED.

11. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS DEPT CONTACT KASSOF AND/OR MEMBERS OF THE IREX BOARD IMMEDIATELY AND ATTEMPT TO PREVENT IREX OVERREACTION THREATENED IN PARA 2 WHICH WILL REOPEN THE CRISIS APPARENTLY RESOLVED EARLIER THIS YEAR. EMPHASIS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO FACT THAT VISA ITSELF WAS UNDOUBTEDLY A PAINFUL CONCESSION BY SECURITY FORCES TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES, AND THAT THEREFORE SOME EVIDENCE OF FRUSTRATION AND PIQUE BY FORMER WAS BOUND TO OCCUR, THAT NO HARM TO DEAK WAS DONE AND NO INTERFERENCE WITH HIS ACTIVITIES INCLUDING HIS DEPARTURE TOOK PLACE, THAT THE SURVEILLANCE IS INDICATION THAT DARKER FORCES HERE DETERMINED TO DISRUPT US-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS, THAT ANOTHER CRISIS PROVOKED BY IREX WOULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE POSITION OF HUNGARIAN ACADEMICS, INTELLECTUALS AND OFFICIALS WHO CONTRIBUTED PRESSURE TOWARD A GOH CHANGE OF POSITION

AND THE GRANTING OF A VISA AT ALL, AND THAT ANOTHER
BREAKING OFF OF EXCHANGES ON SUCH WEAK AND FOOLISH
GROUNDS WOULD NOW PROVIDE THE VICTORY FOR ANTI-US
CONSERVATIVE FORCES IN A BATTLE WHICH THEY HAD ALREADY
LOST.

12. EMBASSY DOUBTS THAT KASSOF AND IREX COULD SUCCESSFULLY
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RENEW THREATENED UNIVERSITY BOYCOTT OF EXCHANGES OR
CREATE A SERIOUS AND SUSTAINED STIR IN THE PRESS OVER
THIS INCIDENT WHICH DIFFERS SUBSTANTIALLY IN SERIOUSNESS
FROM ONE LAST FALL. IREX, HOWEVER, COULD CAUSE GREAT
AND LONG-TERM HARM TO CULTURAL RELATIONS IF IT WERE TO
CANCEL ALL GRANTS AND FORCE WITHDRAWAL OF SCHOLARS FROM
BOTH SIDES.

13. IN LIGHT OF STEADY PROGRESS BEING MADE IN CULTURAL
AND TRADE FIELDS, GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AND
RECENT LIFTING OF SOME TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS, IN OUR VIEW
IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF IREX WERE TO SUCCEED IN
INVOLVING USG IN A CRISIS OF THE FORMER'S MAKING OVER
A SMALL INCIDENT IN WHICH NEITHER ACADEMIC FREEDOM NOR
SCHOLARLY QUESTIONS ARISE AND WHERE EXCHANGES ARE NOT DIRECTLY
INVOLVED. IF IREX WERE TO PROCEED WITH THREATS AS MADE JUNE 16
EMBASSY POSITION IN SUPPORTING IREX TO GOH ON THIS
ISSUE WOULD BE VERY WEAK. WE BELIEVE THAT IF
IT IS DEPT'S JUDGMENT THAT KASSOF AND IREX ARE DETERMINED
TO BREAK OFF THEIR EXCHANGE PROGRAM, SERIOUS CONSIDERATION
SHOULD BE GIVEN TO DISASSOCIATING OURSELVES FROM THIS
ACTION IN EFFORT TO SALVAGE THE VERY REAL GAINS ACHIEVED
IN ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF CULTURAL RELATIONS AND OTHER
SPHERES OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AS WELL.

14. DEPT GUIDANCE REQUESTED ASAP ON WHAT EMBASSY
POSITION VIS-A-VIS GOH SHOULD BE.
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